Goddard, Henry Herbert

School training of defective children.

AINING
OF DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

HENRY H. GODDARD

SCHOOL EFFICIENCY SERIES
PAUL H. HANUS

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SCHOOL EFFICIENCY SERIES

School Training of Defective Children

SCHOOL EFFICIENCY SERIES
Edited by PAUL H. HANUS

School Training of Defective Children

By HENRY H. GODDARD
DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF JUVENILE RESEARCH,
COLUMBUS, OHIO

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

WHETHER the problems to be solved in the recognition and appropriate treatment of mentally defective children are medical, educational, or custodial, or all three combined, is a question worthy of serious consideration. It has hitherto been quite generally assumed that mentally defective children should be and could be cared for satisfactorily by the public school system. In many school systems they are now provided for in special classes; in many others such children are still found in the regular classes for normal children. Hence, for the present at least, the problems involved in the care and training of mental defectives are practically public school problems and must be dealt with from the public school point of view.

Unfortunately there is a notion widely prevalent within and without the teaching profession that special attention—sometimes a little of it, sometimes a good deal—bestowed by the regular teachers, will solve the problem and will make these mentally defective children normal. How completely erroneous this notion is Dr. Goddard makes plain in the present volume.

Even when mentally defective children are segregated in separate classes—as in the interest of the normal children as well as in their own interest they should be—the notion just referred to is often responsible for the régime to which they are subjected; namely, the régime, usually with some modifications, to be sure, appropriate to normal pupils. And, what is even more serious, as little care is bestowed on what happens to the defective child after he is old enough to be released from school by the compulsory attendance law as on what happens to the normal child, and

this is bad enough. How serious a problem from every point of view—hygienic, social, educational—is the appropriate care of mentally defective persons, from childhood on, is strongly stated in this volume.

The book consists of Dr. Goddard's report—with some additions—on the "ungraded classes" of the New York City public school system, which, as specialist in charge of the educational aspects of the New York City school inquiry, I asked Dr. Goddard to undertake. Like the other volumes of the School Efficiency Series, it is therefore in large part a portion of the report submitted by me to the Committee on School Inquiry of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of the City of New York, in July, 1912.

In its present form we hope the book will be found useful by all who are seeking help toward the solution of the important problems with which it deals, outside of New York City as well as within it.

Paul H. Hanus.

Harvard University.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN preparing this report on mentally defective children in the New York City schools for a larger audience than that interested simply in the local situation, it has been thought wise to amplify it somewhat, adding some discussion of a more general nature and explaining what might not be understood by persons not familiar with New York schools or with the problems of the special classes.

In the main, the problem is the same everywhere. It is only in details that differences appear. The reader will easily make the necessary changes to fit his conditions.

The value of the report to those outside New York lies in the fact that, because of its great size, New York has had much experience in a short time. Methods have been in vogue and experiments tried, the results of which are seen. The mistakes may be avoided by other cities.

Although it is two years since the investigation was made, and the writer has made much study of the problem in the meantime, he sees no reason to change anything of importance in the report or recommendations, and on most points contributions by others to the problem have strengthened the convictions expressed in the report: such, for example, as the number of defectives in New York schools. While no importance is attached to the estimate of 15,000 defectives—if it were only half that the conclusions in the report would be the same—the indications are strong, and from many sources, that 2 per cent. of the school population is an underestimate of the number of mental defectives in any community.

Some criticisms of the report have appeared. Some of these, written for political reasons, are of no value to the student. Others, written by enthusiasts who fear that

their hobby has been attacked, only show the necessity of elaborating points that one is apt to pass over briefly, supposing they would be understood. An example of this is the criticism of the suggestion in regard to "working papers." The Child Labor enthusiast has fallen into the error of using the words "mental defective" (or their equivalent) while forgetting that the child he is talking about is really feeble-minded. When this is kept in mind his argument falls.

The Binet tests, upon which some part of our argument in the report is based, are still being condemned occasionally. They have been killed several times, but, in the spirit of Galileo, "The world moves just the same." The Binet tests are proving their value and accuracy every day. Thousand of people are using them, not only with satisfaction, but with results that stand the test of time and experience.

In view of these facts it does not seem unjustifiable to issue the report in a somewhat enlarged form after two years' experience with it.

Perhaps the reader may be interested to know also that New York has already carried out several of the recommendations, which may show that they are not without merit.

HENRY H. GODDARD.

VINELAND, NEW JERSEY.

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Introduction

INTRODUCTION

Many people who are turning their attention for the first time to this question of special classes, do not realize that the problem is not simply one of children who fall behind and need special instruction to bring them up to grade. Such persons will understand this report only when they grasp the fact that a "special class" pupil, "ungraded class" pupil or "mental defective," as here discussed, means a child who is so deficient in mentality that he cannot do ordinary school work satisfactorily; and, whatever he does, he will be unable to take his place in the world on anything like an equality with other individuals. He is lacking in reason or judgment or common sense, or whatever it may be termed, to such an extent that he cannot get along in the world by his own unaided efforts. The place of this type of child in the whole group of children may be indicated by the following classification.

For social and pedagogical purposes, we may classify children into four main groups: First, *normal.* Second, *supernormal.* This latter term is applied to gifted children, i. e., children who have an intelligence above their age, or above the average child. Their superior intelligence enables them to profit rapidly and quickly by their environment and their instruction and to forge ahead in the process of learning and of development. Their power should be utilized to their advantage: they should be led on to higher attainments and accomplishments than the average child can reach. Very little has been done as yet for the supernormal child. That there are two or three per cent. of such children in our schools is now recognized, and special classes for these precocious children is one of the next steps in a

careful and wise educational system. They, however, do not concern us at this time.

The third group consists of those that we have called the *merely backward,*—those children who, for some cause, local, environmental, physical, or somewhat mental, are slow or dull and cannot progress at the rate that our ordinary school curriculum presupposes. Such backwardness, if due to environmental conditions, may be removed by changing the environment. If due to physical defect, such as slight deafness or eye troubles, to adenoids, or to illness, it may be removed through the good offices of the school physician. Such children, in most cases, will come near the average when these handicaps are removed. This group is coming to be more and more wisely cared for, as the school physician is more and more generally employed and more fully understands his possibilities for usefulness. When this backwardness is due to a mental condition, it is simply a somewhat sluggish brain which prevents the child from learning at the usual rate. These children must be led on patiently; they may require five years or more to do what average children do in four. They are not mentally defective in the sense in which we use the term, but are *merely backward.* The coaching classes, or the classes for slow pupils, are intended for children of this type. The "E" classes, as they are called in New York City, are supposed to be for this type of child, although, as we shall see later, on account of failure to differentiate carefully between these and the true mental defective, the classes have a large proportion of children who are actually feeble-minded. If these could be weeded out and many more, who are in the regular classes but who need this special help, could be transferred to the "E" classes, a great advance would be made and these classes could be made to serve a very useful purpose indeed.

Then we come to our fourth group—the *mentally defective* or *feeble-minded* children; those who through either heredity or other causes are so badly retarded in mentality

that they can never overcome the difficulty, and must always remain subnormal—i. e., they will always be incapable of taking their places in the world in competition with others. This group is subdivided into those of the high grade which we call *moron,* the middle grade or *imbecile,* and the low grade, or *idiot.* Idiots seldom get into the public schools. Their defect is so manifest that no one is tempted to try to teach them school subjects. The same is true, probably, of the lower half of the imbeciles. The better of the imbeciles, however, often get into the schools, and though they are easily recognized as defective, attempts are sometimes made to teach them what they cannot by any possibility learn.

The morons are the difficult class to recognize—the class that constitutes our great social menace. Because they look like normal children and, to the uninitiated, often seem normal, they are considered responsible, and burdens are laid upon them, which they are in reality incapable of carrying.

The great problem, as will be made clearer farther on, is to recognize this type of children; to take them out of the regular classes; to place them in *special* classes and give them the kind of training which they can take; to do for them the best that can be done under the circumstances, never letting go of them, always keeping in touch with them, not until they are sixteen years of age only, but throughout the rest of their lives, to the end that they shall become not only as harmless as possible, but as useful and happy as they can be made.

It is difficult for teachers and other school people (and, of course, especially difficult for parents) to realize that these children actually are feeble-minded. Everyone knows that they are not quite like other children, but they are often very handsome and otherwise attractive; and especially they are very affectionate. Thus in many ways they appeal to our interest and arouse our hopes. We are unwilling to admit that they are feeble-minded, and yet

wherever these children have been studied experience proves that this is the case.

A child once feeble-minded is never made normal. A very, very small percentage of them can be trained so that they may be able to eke out a miserable existence, perhaps supporting themselves; but it is probably cruel to require even that of them. It would be much kinder and more humane to give them the opportunity to live in a social environment like a colony, where the harder problems of life do not come up to them, but where they can work and do as much as they are capable of doing, and can therefore live comfortably and happily.

The best way of detecting these children is to employ individuals who have lived for a year or more in institutions among children known to be feeble-minded. Through familiarity with the feeble-minded and study of them, a person becomes expert in recognizing them. This, like most other cases of expertness, is not understood by the laity and can hardly be comprehended, and as a result the diagnosis is often not believed. But it is only necessary to remember that the expert in any field has capabilities that the rest of us do not understand. The physician recognizes disease in persons where the rest of us see no indications of it. The alienist picks out the insane and will predict years before the violent outbreak that this or that person will ultimately become maniacal. In another field, we have examples of experts in, for instance, the use of the sense of taste. Experts in these lines do things that to the rest of us are little short of marvelous. In the same way, those who are familiar by long acquaintance with the feeble-minded are able to recognize them almost at a glance. Every superintendent of an institution for the feeble-minded can do this, and so can the other officers and the teachers.

Another method, perhaps equally good,—surely in some respects superior, since the procedure is objective and can be demonstrated to others,—is the use of the Binet-Simon

Measuring Scale of Intelligence. This scale in the hands of a well-trained person, a psychologist, yields results that are again quite as surprising as the achievements of the expert observer. These two methods have repeatedly corroborated each other to such an extent that we may regard either one as entirely satisfactory. We shall speak later of some of the methods by which the untrained, without the use of this scale, can make some estimate of the children who ought to go into the special classes.

A word about the history of the care of these defectives may not be out of place at this point. Real work with defectives of almost any type is less than one hundred years old. It is true that somewhat earlier than that may be found some mention of the problem and some sympathetic utterances, particularly for the type known as cretins. In 1811 Napoleon had a census made of the cretins in one of the cantons of Switzerland. They numbered 3,000. In 1816 a school was established in Switzerland. But the first real beginning was not made until 1837, when the famous Dr. Seguin began his work in systematic training of such children.

About ninety years ago a few "idiotic" children were taken into the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb in Hartford, Connecticut, and trained with a fair degree of success. This, however, was not continued long. In 1845 agitation began in New York and Massachusetts which resulted later in the establishment of schools, the one in Barre, Massachusetts, the other in Syracuse, New York, in 1851. These were distinctly institutions for the feeble-minded.

The idea of special classes in the public schools seems to have been suggested by Stötser in Leipsic in 1863, and by Prof. August Shenck in America in 1878. As the result of the latter's agitation, two classes were started in Cleveland, Ohio. In 1892 Chicago formed a class; in 1896, Providence, Rhode Island, and Portland, Maine; in 1899, Philadelphia. The novelty and strangeness of the move-

ment is well indicated by the fact that in Providence a certain newspaper reporter thought it was an excellent joke and wrote an elaborate account under the title of the "Fool Class." This designation was so obnoxious and was given such publicity that it set back the movement very decidedly in that city, for no one was willing to have his child placed in a class designated by such a name. The fear of such a result as this even now deters many boards of education from starting classes for defectives. As a matter of fact, there need be no trouble on this score, because wise management easily prevents the attaching of any such stigma. Indeed, there are many instances of parents having asked to have their children placed in these classes. They are usually called "special classes," or, as in New York, "ungraded classes."

School Training of Defective Children

Some Existing Conditions in New York City

". . . . the City of New York, with its immense suburbs, cannot much longer send its idiots to the northern climate of Syracuse, depriving them of the warmth of the seashore, and of the visits of their friends. But more, New York City must have its institution for idiots, because it contains the mature talents and growing capacities in all the branches of human inquiry, whose concourse must be insured to perfect the method of treatment of these children, and to deduce therefrom the important discoveries justly expected in anthropology."

EDUARD SEGUIN

(Writing in 1866.)

SCHOOL TRAINING OF DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

CHAPTER I

SOME EXISTING CONDITIONS IN NEW YORK CITY

IN the year 1900 the first ungraded class in New York City was started in Public School No. 1, Manhattan. In 1906 there were fourteen classes in Greater New York. Since that time the enormous growth of these classes is in itself both sufficient indication of the size of the problem and the reason for many shortcomings.

In 1906 a special inspector of ungraded classes was appointed. The duties of this inspector were to superintend the establishment of these classes, to secure teachers, and to decide what children should be placed in the classes, together with general oversight and direction of the work. Beginning, as we have said, with fourteen classes in 1906, there were forty-one classes in 1907, sixty-one in 1908, eighty-six in 1909, one hundred and three in 1910, one hundred and twenty-six at the beginning of 1911, and in April, 1912, one hundred and thirty-one.

The writer personally visited one hundred and twenty-five classes. The one hundred and thirty-one classes are located in ninety-five public schools. In other words, less than one fourth of the schools of New York have ungraded classes. As a rule there is only one such class in a school. Fourteen schools, however, have two classes each, two schools have three classes each, one has four, and one

school has six classes. Altogether there are nearly 2,500 children in these ungraded classes.

HOW CHILDREN ARE CHOSEN FOR THE UNGRADED CLASSES IN NEW YORK

Principals of schools are asked by the City Superintendent to give their "personal attention to the conspicuously backward children; to those who apparently are unable to learn to read; to those who have very deficient number sense; to those who are truants or show a tendency to the habit; to those who seem incorrigible; and to noticeably irritable, nervous children." [1]

The principals rely largely upon the estimate of the teachers. Had the principals and teachers carefully heeded the superintendent's circular letter, a much larger proportion of defective children would have been reported.

Here we meet the first great difficulty in our problem of adequately caring for the backward child. For many reasons the grade teacher is unqualified to decide properly on the mentality of the child. In the first place, she has never received any training to enable her to do this, and whatever she happens to know has come either through her observation or through her incidental information in regard to normal and dull children. But she has always been led to believe that dullness in children was due to their environment or their treatment; and that either they would eventually outgrow it, or by sufficient work on her own part could be brought up to grade. In other words, she has divided her children into *idiots* and *normals*. Her first group contains those that are obviously defective, as evidenced by physical condition, appearance of stupidity, or absolute inability to comprehend anything in school. The other group includes all the rest of the children—those who are normal, those who are exceptionally bright, and those who are dull or slow.

[1] Elementary School Circular No. 2, September 19, 1911.

We now know that a very large proportion of those children who are thought by the teacher to be merely slow, or deficient in some one subject, are really mentally deficient; and while they may, because of having a fairly good memory, make some progress in certain subjects or activities, they nevertheless can never be normal children, and should really be in ungraded classes.

The second thing that interferes with the proper classification of the children is the pride of the teacher or the principal of the school. Teachers have sometimes felt that it was a confession of failure to acknowledge that a child could not be brought up to grade. Principals have been proud that their schools were reasonably free from stupid children.

Still a third reason is that mental defectiveness is often complicated with physical defect; and it is practically the universal custom to lay stress upon the physical defect and conclude that if this were removed the child would be normal and develop properly, and that it was therefore wrong to put such a child in the ungraded class. On the other hand, conditions that are only temporary or individual idiosyncrasies are sometimes mistaken for signs of permanent mental defect, with the result that children are placed in these classes who are not defective, who are really almost normal, but have been mistaken by the teacher because she has been unable to understand them. The result of all this is that the nearly 2,500 children now in the ungraded classes, while largely feeble-minded and institution cases, nevertheless include some that are really of normal mentality and should not be in these classes, but should rather be in the progress classes—the E classes—among those children whom special attention will bring up to grade. This condition of having in the ungraded classes children whose mentality ranges from that of a three-year-old to the mentality of a normal child is very disadvantageous, and makes the work of the class unduly difficult for the teacher and expensive for the system.

We have found, for instance, in these classes, imbeciles of Mongolian type, microcephalic idiots, hydrocephalic cases, cretins, a large number of middle and high-grade imbeciles, and also a large number of morons (defective children of the mentality of a normal child of from eight to twelve years).

These classes are officially designated as classes for mentally deficient children, and yet there is a very general effort on the part of the principals and teachers to get some of these children back into the grades. This lack of uniformity in policy is unfortunate. That little is achieved under such circumstances is shown by the results. In answer to the question, "How many of these children have you sent or will you send back to the grades?" even the teachers themselves, with all their optimism, seldom say anything better than "one or two." "In the history of the class of five years we have sent back five to the grades." Teachers of the grades who have taken these children back sometimes reported that they ought not to have been sent back.

Whether the examiner who decides what children are to go into these classes ignores the fact that these classes are for mental defectives, or whether the normal children who get in are cases of "mistaken diagnosis," should be ascertained by the Department of Education.

METHODS USED IN OTHER CITIES

In other cities various methods are used for selecting children for the "special classes," as they are generally called. In some places, for instance, it is left entirely to the teacher to report such cases as she thinks are candidates for the class. Again, all children who are more than two years behind their grade are selected. In other cases it is only those who are obviously feeble-minded. Of course this means that the special classes get only the low-grade imbeciles or idiots. In other cities this latter type is promptly rejected by the special classes, being considered

institution cases and not trainable; those selected for the special classes are children who show that they can learn something, but yet are unable to progress at the rate of the normal children. The difficulty with all these methods is indicated in the foregoing discussion of the New York situation. They are inadequate and not based on scientific demonstration.

WHAT CHILDREN SHOULD BE TESTED FOR MENTAL DEFICIENCY

When we come fully to realize that human beings inherit certain potential intelligences, or, in other words, belong to certain strains or levels of intelligence, and that a large percentage belong to a level that is too low for normal functioning, then every case of backwardness or unusual or abnormal action in a child will be a case for close examination and testing,—not that every such case will be really found to belong to that group, but we must be sure that it does not. When measles is not known to be prevalent in a community, a mild rash may be neglected, but when it is recognized as prevalent even a few pimples compel us to give the child a full examination. Mental deficiency is so prevalent that it behooves us to examine minutely every case that offers the slightest suggestion of dullness.

The most obvious group of suspects are the "over-age" pupils. Not all of them, of course, are defective. There are reasons for their over-age, but we must be very careful what we accept, and not pass them uncritically. When we examine them closely the great majority of these children will be found to be really defective. There are already experts—and more experts may easily be made by giving them the opportunity for study and for familiarity with the *known* defective—who can go into a schoolroom and pick out by simple observation those who are mentally defective. If there were enough of these experts to go around, we could very quickly eliminate all defectives from

our regular classes and place them in the special classes. Such observation should undoubtedly be very generally corroborated by more careful tests. For this purpose nothing has yet offered itself that is as satisfactory as the Binet-Simon Measuring Scale of Intelligence. Nothing else is needed in the great mass of cases than this test, and we can rely absolutely upon it,—unless we should discover children whose actual accomplishment contradicts the results of this test. I know of no such cases as yet.

In cases where the test shows the child to be from two to three years backward, we have what we call the borderline case, and then it is desirable to supplement these tests by others which may turn the scale in one direction or the other at least, to make us feel that our diagnosis is safe. These tests must be used by persons who have been trained in their use and who have some psychological knowledge, as otherwise more or less serious errors may be made when it comes to a close diagnosis. In the selection of experts, likewise, caution should be exercised. The ordinary person who may think that he can recognize feeble-mindedness is not to be trusted, nor is the physician generally to be trusted on this point; the school physician or medical examiner often has had little or no experience with feeble-mindedness *en masse*, and so hunts for stigmata of degeneration or other physical peculiarities that sometimes go with feeble-mindedness. The difficulty is that these things do not always go with feeble-mindedness and so a large group is missed by these so-called experts.

What is Done for Children in Ungraded Classes

CHAPTER II

WHAT IS DONE FOR CHILDREN IN UNGRADED CLASSES

THE usual program is the three R's in the forenoon and some form of handwork (manual training) in the afternoon. Nearly all the experienced teachers and the principals are agreed that book work is largely wasted upon these children; but they feel compelled to try to carry it on because it is the tradition of the system, and because the parents insist that their children shall be taught to read and write.

THE FUTILITY OF INSTRUCTING DEFECTIVES IN THE THREE R'S

Here is our second great difficulty in the problem. If some of these children can be taught reading, writing, and numbers to such an extent that they can make intelligent use of what they learn and thus increase their efficiency later in life, then it certainly should be done, even though it be slow and laborious. If, on the other hand, the work that they do is merely parrot work; if, because of their good memories (many have them), they are able to make certain associations and able to read out of a book after they have studied it a long, long time; if they can perform certain numerical operations, but are unable to apply them, and have no real understanding of what they are doing, then all the time devoted to bookwork is wasted, and worse. Which view is correct? Opinions are divided. Most people who are familiar with the feeble-minded child as he is found in institutions and in the Hilfsschulen of Germany

and the Special Classes of London believe that the children in the ungraded classes of our city belong to the latter group; that is to say, they believe that it is wrong to attempt to teach such children any of this work.

The only way to solve the problem is to appeal to experience. Had a careful record been kept of every child who has been in the ungraded classes; his actual condition; what he had learned in the way of reading, writing, and counting; and then of his after history, and the extent to which he had been able to make a living because of his ability to use his knowledge of the three R's, we might by this time have an answer to the question. As a matter of fact, no such records have been kept. We have continually asked teachers, "What do you know about these children after they leave the ungraded class at the age of sixteen?" The answers have been almost uniformly of one kind, although couched in various forms. Frequently it is a mere shrug of the shoulders, sometimes with the remark, "That is a problem." More than one teacher has said, "They soon find their way to the Juvenile Court." Others say, "Oh, they are on the streets." Or, again, "One boy got a job for a few months, but could not keep it." Another teacher said, "This boy comes to me every few months to get him a job."

As indicated in the foregoing paragraphs, there is still some difference in opinion on this question of the three R's for mental defectives. The writer himself has no doubt on the subject. *They are almost entirely out of place with children who are mentally defective.* Only a small percentage of the very highest grades of such children can make any use of them whatever. This is a matter of observation which can be confirmed over and over again. Now, if, by some method unknown to the writer, we could determine beforehand which children can learn the three R's so as to use them, then there would be no objection to teaching such children the elements of these subjects; but, if we cannot detect those who are able to profit by such in-

struction, far less loss and injury will be done by neglecting the very small percentage that might learn something of reading, of writing, and of numbers than by trying to teach these things to the entire group of defectives in our schools.

The psychology of defectives points definitely to the futility of attempting to teach these subjects to such children, and it confirms and explains what experience shows to be the fact. The reason the unobserving have so often thought that feeble-minded children can learn these things is that they confuse intelligence with memory. Mentally defective children are not necessarily defective in memory. Indeed, as a rule, they have as good memories, up to a certain point, as normal people, and oftentimes they have phenomenal memories. Now, take a child in school with only average memory—to say nothing of one having a superior memory—and by constant drill he can be taught the matter that is given him in reading and writing and counting; he can repeat it *parrot fashion.* He does not understand it and as a consequence will never be able to make practical use of it.

The real test should be, not what does he remember and what can he repeat, how well can he do the *usual* school work, but how much does he understand? How much of what he seems to have learned can he use in actual life?

I have said that these children have good memories up to a certain point. The point is a psychological one; that is to say, they have what is known as good natural retentiveness, but they do not possess that other element in memory which makes the normal individual efficient, namely, logical association. There is every reason to believe that the defect of judgment or intelligence or all of those higher qualities that we find lacking in the mental defective is due to some kind of derangement, particularly in the association fibers of the brain; at least, while there is not as yet any neurological proof of this derangement, nevertheless, psychologically, it is easy to show that these children are lacking, first and foremost, in the power of abstraction and in all forms of association which involve

abstract thinking. Now, reading of itself involves abstraction. It is the use of symbols to stand for concrete things. A defective child can understand the concrete things, he cannot understand the symbols—at least, to any extent sufficient to enable him to carry on his thought by means of those symbols.

THE ADVISABILITY OF MANUAL TRAINING FOR DEFECTIVES

There is a feeling common among certain persons that when we refuse to teach reading and arithmetic to defectives we are depriving them of something which is their inalienable right. That is not the proper view. We are simply refusing to attempt to do the impossible or nearly impossible. We wish to substitute something which is possible and practicable and which makes these children happy. In other words, reading, writing, and arithmetic are not necessary to happiness or efficiency, as is testified by thousands of people who can do none of them. Defectives can be taught to do manual work the doing of which makes them happy and useful, and if this is done they never miss the reading or writing.

As has been said, there are very few records of defective children not in school; and those that we do have, which have been secured by exceptionally zealous teachers who have watched their children after they have left school, seem to indicate that it is very rare that these children make good out of school, even though their needs are very slight. They are generally on the street, in the Juvenile Court, or are sent to some Institution.

UNSATISFACTORY CONDITIONS FOR MANUAL TRAINING WORK IN NEW YORK CITY UNGRADED CLASSES

The experience with children in institutions for feebleminded, the country over, is that manual training is the one thing that they can be taught; consequently we have

turned with interest to the usual afternoon program of the ungraded classes to see what is being done in this direction. Here we find two or three difficulties. In the first place, very few classes have any adequate supply of material to work with. Some of them, indeed, have not any equipment. The classes that have enough wood, raffia, reed, yarn, twine, cloth, thread, needles, etc., to carry on their manual work are very few indeed. One can count on the fingers of one hand the schools that answered, "Yes, we have all the material that we need;" while the conditions in schools where they do not have enough is pathetic and even ridiculous. In some classes the only lumber to work with is pieces of old boxes which the children are able to bring in. In another school remnants have sometimes been begged of John Wanamaker with which some of their needlework could be done. In other schools some of the mats and rugs made were unraveled and torn to pieces in order that the material might be used again! Much of the material furnished is poor or not adapted to the defective child. Many of the things needed are not on the list supplied by the Department of Education.

Not only is it true that the material is inadequate, but oftentimes the equipment is so exceedingly slow in coming as to handicap the work materially. In some schools classes have been established for nearly two years, and yet no equipment has arrived. The following letter is typical of a number of cases:

NEW YORK, March 20, 1912.

MY DEAR DR. ———:

In regard to the need of equipment in our ungraded class, about which you asked me, I find that:

The class was established in November, 1910, and I supposed that the installing of an equipment would be automatic. When it did not come, allowing for the slowness of things in general, I wrote ——— that we

needed it, and waited. I wrote also to ——— on December 1, 1911, and to the Board of Superintendents on February 12, 1912. To none of these letters have I ever received a direct reply, so that officially I do not know that they were ever received.

I have written Miss Farrell at least four times on the matter and have called her and the District Superintendent on the telephone several times. Last October I called on Miss Farrell at the office and mentioned the subject. Once she called me up and told me she had heard that there were three sets of apparatus on hand and that I had better speak for them. I did so immediately, but have heard nothing as yet concerning it.

Very truly yours

The regular desks cannot be taken out of the room because the proper official does not get around to do it, and the equipment of tables and benches needed for these classes cannot be put in until the desks are taken out. In a number of schools where there are tables and chairs and two or three work benches, there are no tools, no hammers or saws, or anything else to work with. In one room the benches were piled on top of each other because they were useless without tools or material to work with. In one class, established last fall, the desks are so crowded that there are no aisles, and not a desk is allowed to be removed. Think of the cruelty to both teacher and pupils of having to do their work in such a room for nearly an entire school year!

Even in those classes where the equipment is complete and where there is a fair supply of material, the work is seldom satisfactory. This is due mainly to two reasons. First, the teachers are inadequately trained. As a rule, they are those who have little understanding of manual work; they know only one or two kinds, or have merely picked up a little here and there; they have seen this device or that, have been attracted by it, have put it into their daily

program, and are working it with their children, but without continuity of purpose, with no sign of all the different activities working together for educational result. Second, almost all these classes, as shown above, contain too wide a range of mental capacity. As has been said, they range from the low-grade imbecile to the high-grade moron, the almost normal child, with possibly one or two that are normal. Under such conditions it is unreasonable to expect any satisfactory procedure. In a few schools very satisfactory work is being done in spite of all the handicaps. The conditions are the result of a situation which has come about suddenly; no one adequately understands it, and it can be bettered only through a careful study of the conditions by teachers, superintendents, supervisors, the Board of Education, and, lastly, the public and the taxpayer.

Types of Underfed Class Pupils

The two girls shown are both fourteen years old

Schoolroom and Equipment for Ungraded Classes

CHAPTER III

SCHOOLROOM AND EQUIPMENT FOR UNGRADED CLASSES

THE rooms in which these classes are accommodated are, like the children in the classes, of all grades from the lowest to the highest; that is to say, from the small, dark, dingy, inadequate up to the large, light, airy, well-located—in short, the best room in the building, as several principals have proudly declared. On the whole, the rooms are good. There is a large number of excellent rooms; only a few are poor, and these are the best that could be obtained under the circumstances.

A more serious difficulty is the large number of schools that have no ungraded class. In many of these it is again a question of room. In a few schools an ungraded class is very much desired, but there is no place to accommodate it. The only way in which a room could be provided in these schools would be to put some of the normal children on part time, and this is not considered desirable.

What is the ideal room and equipment depends a little upon circumstances, but some general directions may be given, to which such slight modifications may be made as circumstances require. The rooms in the new school buildings in New York City are perhaps as near a standard as we could ask for. They are large, with high ceilings, light on two sides, well heated and ventilated, with cases for the work and materials along one side of the room and blackboards on the other. They are furnished with two or three carpenters' benches, four or five tables and chairs, and usually a sand table. The equipment of course depends upon the character of the class that is to occupy the room. If it is what we should call in usual school terms a one-class

room, that is to say, a room for all grades and all ages and both sexes, then we must provide such a room. On the other hand, if it is one of several rooms in a school for defectives, then it is equipped for the particular grade and size of pupils that are to occupy it. If, in such a school for defectives, departmental work is carried on (of which we shall speak later), then each particular room will be equipped for the particular kind of work to be done.

A STANDARD ROOM FOR AN UNGRADED CLASS

In the following description we give details of a room, with its equipment, that is to have all grades and ages. To transform this into a special room in a school for defectives, omit the articles that would not be needed, and multiply the number of the articles that would be needed for the particular type of child and work that is planned for this room.

First of all, the room should be large, light and airy. These children are often physically, as well as mentally, defective, and every convenience and condition which is conducive to their improvement in health should be supplied.

The plan is for a room for fifteen children. This is more than should be put in one class. Ten would be better. But inasmuch as it is often found necessary to put in as many as fifteen, we have put our estimate on that basis.

A room thirty by forty feet, with a south and east or south and west exposure, would be the most desirable. If possible, windows should reach the floor and swing, so as to make an open-air room in all suitable weather.

The walls should be of a neutral tint, such as light buff or green.

Instead of the usual school desks, the room should have tables and chairs which can be pushed aside to clear the floor for play or exercise. Since the children that are placed in a special class are graded by mentality rather than by chronological age or physical height, the tables and

chairs should be of varying sizes to fit the different children. Strong, well-made chairs are desirable. They should be of approximately the following heights, three of each: 12 inches, 13½ inches, 15 inches, 16½ inches, and 18 inches. Kindergarten chairs will fit the two smaller sizes; large chairs can be cut down for the medium ones. There should be three each of the following size tables: 22 inches high, 26 x 18 inches top; 24 inches high, 30 x 20 inches top; 26 inches high, 34 x 22 inches top; 28 inches high, 38 x 24 inches top; 30 inches high, 42 x 26 inches top. These may be supplied with rubber tips on the legs if desired. They should be very simply made—plain board top with a batten across each end into which the legs should fit. There should be no boxing, because this would interfere with the arranging of the tables when they are put away. If they are made of the dimensions specified, they may be "nested," the five being placed together, occupying only the space of one, so that the whole fifteen, when not in use, may be put away at one side of the room, occupying only the space of three tables, the smaller ones fitting under the larger ones. The tops should be finished plain without varnish, as that looks bad when cut or scratched, and the tables should be usable for all sorts of work.

There should be eight work benches of suitable form for the wood working that is to be done by the children. These should be single work benches, adjustable, and small enough to be placed along the sides of the room where the windows are, so as to have good light at work.

Around the other two sides of the room should be cases for storing work and materials, 18 inches deep and 4 feet high, with sliding doors. The tops would thus serve for ornaments, for exhibiting work, for plants, or anything of that sort which is convenient.

The space between the windows should be filled with blackboards which come down low enough for the smallest children, but also high enough for the teacher's use. Of course, necessary tools for all sorts of work should be pro-

vided as desired by the teacher, also materials such as lumber, paper, reed and raffia, cloth, yarn, etc., inks, brushes, varnishes, stains, etc.

Adjoining this room there should be a bathroom with a shower bath at least, if not a tub, and also a cloak room. This bathroom might also be made suitable to do laundry work and possibly also what kitchen work may be needed, either for training the children in domestic science or for preparing their own luncheons. If preferred, this kitchen work may be done in the main schoolroom, where there should also be dishes and everything necessary for setting a table. These can be used both for the educational work and for lunches for the children.

There may also be had the equipment for the various other rooms in a home, such as a bed with bedding and other articles of furnishing. If desired, a folding screen may be used, about six feet high, which shall screen off a portion of the main room, thereby making it on occasions either a bedroom, a dining-room, a sitting-room, or whatever room the teacher desires to use in her instruction in household work.

Such books as are necessary may be kept in or on the cupboards, and the tables and chairs will be all that will be needed when anything in the line of book work is going on. A few pieces of gymnastic apparatus, such as a horse, a jumping bar, and the like may be easily kept in the corners of the room; also a gymnasium mat may be utilized to the great joy and advantage of the children.

Some, of course, will prefer to have separate rooms for these different things, carrying on more or less departmental work with such a group. However, it must not be forgotten that these children come from homes that are of the simplest sort, and it is probably not desirable to set before them ideals of room and space to which they can never attain; so that it is not altogether a disadvantage to have everything in one room and to make that room now a schoolroom, now a laundry, now a bedroom, and so on.

Teachers of Ungraded Classes

CHAPTER IV

TEACHERS OF UNGRADED CLASSES

THE SUPPLY OF TRAINED TEACHERS

OUR third great difficulty in this problem is to secure teachers for these classes. It is practically impossible to obtain an adequate supply of trained teachers. There are only a few places in the entire United States where persons can get anything like an adequate training. Institutions for the feeble-minded should be the model schools for teachers that are taking training in this line of work, but these institutions very rarely train teachers other than their own, and those persons who teach in institutions for the feeble-minded are seldom willing to leave their positions for public school positions. There are now several places where instruction on the theoretical side is given. But without actual acquaintance with feeble-minded children of all types, the teacher is left as the physician would be who had gone through his medical course but had had no laboratory or hospital experience.

HOW TEACHERS ARE OBTAINED FOR THE UNGRADED CLASSES

In the absence of such trained teachers, the next best thing has to be done. The grade teachers of three years' experience are encouraged to take the special examination[1] for teachers of these ungraded classes. They are then transferred to those classes to work out their salvation as best they may. The difficulty here is the difficulty that we always meet when we encounter anything like a civil service examination or a fixed examination of people for these positions. No one has yet discovered any sure way of selecting the right person by means of a fixed examination. The result is that we have found certified teachers in these

[1] For sample examination questions used in New York City and in New Jersey, see Appendix.

classes who are in no way fitted for the work. On the other hand, we have found people who are teaching as substitutes, having failed in their examination, who are nevertheless doing excellent work. It should be said that the teachers are, as a rule, faithful, conscientious, interested in their problem, and very largely more or less cognizant of the problem. The most hopeful sign is that nearly all of them are painfully aware of their own lack of training and their own inability to do for the children what they feel might be done. A few teachers are utterly incompetent, and some of these are substitutes.

THE QUALIFICATIONS AND TRAINING REQUISITE FOR A TEACHER OF DEFECTIVES

Every employer of teachers knows the difference between a good teacher and a poor one, and the value of the former; but nowhere in the whole educational system is this difference so important as in the case of teachers of defectives. Nowhere are good teachers so valuable and nowhere is the poor teacher such an utter failure and capable of doing so much harm. The teacher of normal children has been a normal child herself; consequently, she knows something about normal children. If she knows the subject that she is to teach, she can avoid being a total failure and disgrace. It is not so with the teacher of defectives. She has never been a defective child; she does not know how defective children look at the problems to be solved and she does not realize what they can understand. Often the better her scholarship, the poorer her teaching power.

Now this difficulty can only be overcome by such careful training as will enable the teacher of defectives to appreciate the minds of the children that she has to deal with. There is practically nothing that can give her this power except association with a group of *known* defectives of high grade. A teacher without this experience can hardly ever bring herself to the point where she always remembers that this big girl sixteen years old has really only the mind

of a six-year-old child. Hence she repeatedly treats her pupil as if she were a normal sixteen-year-old girl or expects her to behave like such a girl. Since the pupil cannot respond to such treatment or such expectation, difficulties are inevitable.

Our idea of a teacher of defective children is, accordingly, one who loves such children and who knows and understands them because she has had as much experience as possible (a year at least) with known defectives, preferably in an institution for the feeble-minded. Furthermore, she should have studied, under instruction, the theoretical side of her problem and its history, and she should know the psychology of the defective child. Only such a teacher can be free from prejudices and can be willing to be *led by the child* along his feeble-minded way. To attempt to lead him along the way of the normal child can result only in failure.

As is said elsewhere in this report, there is at present no adequate supply of such teachers. Under these circumstances, the best thing that boards of education and superintendents can do is to select from their regular teachers those who are successful with normal children, because they have the proper attitude toward all children and are interested in them, and who have an interest in defectives and in work with them; and then to send such teachers, preferably at the expense of the board, to some institution for the feeble-minded where they can get first hand acquaintance with defective children. If, in these institutions, courses are given on the theory and the psychology of the treatment of defectives, so much the better. If not, then the teachers must get such courses elsewhere, say in a university. In some such way teachers may be prepared and equipped for this work.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to add that any teacher who, on account of age or temperament, is unable to change her point of view and acquire the attitude necessary for a teacher of defectives, should not be selected for this work.

Supervision of Ungraded Classes

CHAPTER V

SUPERVISION OF UNGRADED CLASSES

INADEQUACY OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF SUPERVISION

THIS is the next great difficulty: There is little or no supervision of ungraded classes. The inspector of ungraded classes has other duties incumbent upon her which require so much of her time that little is left for visiting classes and helping the teachers. The inadequacy of the present plan of supervision will be realized when it is remembered that the principal of a school with no more than thirty to sixty classes is considered to have enough to do, and usually more than enough. But his classes are all under one roof. The inspector of ungraded classes has one hundred and thirty-one classes scattered all over Greater New York—some of them requiring a great deal of time to reach by the usual means of transportation. Would it not be a matter of simple economy to furnish the inspector of ungraded classes with an automobile which could take her in the least possible time to the various schools?

The principal of the school in which the class is placed has no official responsibility. It is true that in many cases principals are so interested that they have learned more or less about the problem; in one way or another they have acquired knowledge of the subject and are helpful to their teachers. Nevertheless, this is accidental and is to the credit of the principal rather than of the system. That some principals do not feel this interest is shown by one who, in reply to the question, "What suggestions have you in regard to the ungraded class?" said, "I have nothing

whatever to do with it. The Board of Education has a specialist who takes entire charge of this class. If you ask me about my regular grades, I can tell you anything you want to know, but with the ungraded class I have nothing whatever to do." This frank statement, although unusual, reveals an entirely justifiable position. We have no right to expect that a principal who has from thirty to seventy-five classes in his building—from 1,000 to 3,000 children—shall also add to his responsibilities the problem of dealing effectively with the feeble-minded child and make himself an adequate supervisor of such work. That every principal who has such a class in his building ought to know enough about the problem to give the teacher free rein and to help in the matter of material, program, etc., is true. But adequate and effective supervision by the principals is more than the public has the right to ask.

QUALITIES AND DUTIES OF A SUPERVISOR OF UNGRADED CLASSES

A supervisor of classes or schools for defectives should of course have all the qualities necessary in any supervisor. He or she should know the problem thoroughly, have a wide experience, be conversant with all the experiments that have been made and all the methods in use in other places, and should have a profound sympathy both for the child and for the teacher. But, above all, he or she should be a supervisor—not a clerk or statistician or a home visitor or a social worker; not even, except in rare instances, the person who sits in an office and meets the parents when they come. His or her business should be with the education of the child and with the teacher. By hypothesis, the supervisor knows more about the problem than anybody else; knows all the possibilities of methods; knows all kinds of children; knows teachers and is able and has the time, or should have, to visit the teachers often, giving them help and suggestions as they need it.

Pupils in an Ungraded Mixed Class [in Public School 110, Manhattan], Showing the Products of Their Own Handiwork.

The teachers of special classes have problems of which the regular teachers know nothing. It must inevitably happen, and happen frequently, that these teachers become temporarily discouraged. Further, they often face problems which they could probably solve in time, but which ought to be solved quickly to relieve the stress and strain. They should be able to call upon their supervisors, who in turn should be able to come promptly and give advice and help and sympathy, to the end that the work of the teachers may be lightened and their efficiency increased.

To do this, the supervisor cannot have other duties, to any considerable extent, nor can she supervise a vast number of schools. When our Boards of Education learn that clerical help is cheap and easily provided, but that the right kind of supervisors and principals are hard to find, they will then realize the folly of paying a ten-dollar-a-day person to do one-dollar-a-day work; or of setting a person who has the ability to do tasks that only a few can do to do work that can be done by almost anybody. At present this foolish and expensive thing is done over and over again. We employ supervisors and keep them busy a fourth or a half or even two thirds of their time on clerical work. We do the same with principals. This is an enormously wasteful and expensive procedure.

Suggestions from Principals and Teachers

CHAPTER VI

SUGGESTIONS FROM PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS

IN the foregoing chapters are given the most important facts revealed by personal visits to the ungraded classes in New York City.

Wherever possible, teachers and principals were asked for suggestions, born of their experience, which might help to increase the efficiency of the ungraded classes. Some of the ideas revealed were so universally held, and others were so significant, as to deserve careful consideration.

Nearly all concerned, both teachers and principals, feel that these defective children are institutional cases, that they do not belong in the public school at all, but should be cared for in institutions for the feeble-minded. But when asked the question, "How many parents would consent to these children going to institutions?" they immediately admit that there would be very few indeed, and so the question remains, "How shall they be cared for?" This we shall discuss later.

Many principals and some teachers suggested that these children should be given working papers before they have fulfilled the requirements of the present law. Their argument was this: These children can never attain the required proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic. If by dint of a great deal of drill they are brought up to the point where they may somehow pass the examination, it is still a purely perfunctory achievement and has done them no good. On the other hand, for many of these children, the very best thing is to put them at work where they can

be trained by their fathers or mothers or persons who are willing to take charge of them and see that they are taught to do some sort of work; as this is the only thing that they can ever do and the best thing for them, it is folly to keep them in school a year or two after they are ready for that work. Here again the question can only be satisfactorily understood and settled by the adoption of a comprehensive plan for the solution of the whole problem.

Again, teachers and principals almost universally feel that these children, although cared for by the school system, should not be in separate classes in the regular schools; but that centers or schools should be established, so located that they could take all the children who are now in these ungraded classes, and those that ought to be in them, in a given area; there, brought together in one building, they could be cared for and supervised and directed as necessity required.

Practically all principals were agreed that some more efficient and available means for giving the teachers the material they require should be provided. Many state that some better method of distributing supplies should be provided for these classes so that the teachers could have the material that they need, of the kind that they need, and when they need it; and should not be compelled to spend their own money for things which they cannot get along without, and yet which the authorities do not provide.

Practically all principals agree that some better plan for supervision should be provided. They say that it is not in their "line"; that they have not the time to devote to this special work, and consequently they are unable to offer to the teachers the help that is needed.

A few principals complain of the examinations that are required for teachers of this class, saying that excellent teachers are frequently denied a certificate and so their classes are crippled.

A considerable number complain also that children recommended for the classes have never been examined. Some

complain that children are returned as unfit for the ungraded class because they are not sufficiently backward to warrant their being transferred, the testimony of the principal being entirely ignored.

And lastly, many principals say that they could select teachers from their schools who could pass the examinations and would make ideal teachers for these classes; but that the teachers are unwilling to undertake the work, feeling that it is difficult and arduous and has many drawbacks, and that there is not sufficient compensation to induce them to make the change.

All these matters are important.

The Importance of the Problem

CHAPTER VII

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

THE conditions discovered and set forth in the preceding chapters, together with the recommendations received from principals and teachers, agree with the theoretical view that this problem is much larger than has yet been appreciated. The most extensive study ever made of the children of an entire public-school system of two thousand has shown that 2 per cent. of such children are so mentally defective as to preclude any possibility of their ever being made normal and able to take care of themselves as adults. (See *Pedagogical Seminary* for June, 1911, "Two Thousand Children Tested by the Binet-Simon Scale," by Henry H. Goddard.)

THE BINET-SIMON MEASURING SCALE OF INTELLIGENCE

Since this result was obtained by the use of the Binet-Simon Measuring Scale of Intelligence, it stands or falls with the validity of the scale. The Binet-Simon Measuring Scale of Intelligence is the result of years of study by one of the ablest psychologists of modern times. The scale itself has been tested and retested on groups of children large and small. Practically the only valid criticisms that have ever been made of it have suggested that it might be improved in some of its details. It has never been rejected by anyone as useless. The only seriously adverse criticisms have been made either by persons who have not used the scale on more than a handful of children or who have not used it intelligently. Those persons who have

used it on large numbers of children have declared that the more they use it the better satisfied they are with it. While no one claims for it that the results obtained should take precedence over all other evidence in the case of an individual child, no one has denied that it is able to give us an accurate percentage of normal, backward, and precocious children in any group. With the record that it has made, any attempt to ignore the results as shown by this method would savor strongly of prejudice.

THE NUMBER OF MENTALLY DEFICIENT CHILDREN IN NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS

It is indeed startling to read that 2 per cent. of school children are feeble-minded. But every new and unexpected discovery is more or less startling. In this case the findings are not without corroboration from other sources, for those who are willing to face the facts fairly.

According to this estimate of 2 per cent. there are 15,000 feeble-minded children in the public schools of New York. The only escape from this conclusion would be the assumption that in New York City there is a better condition of things than exists in a small city and rural population in Southern New Jersey. Certainly one who is familiar with conditions in Greater New York would hardly claim that such is the case.

I have examined a number of children in the New York schools by this scale, and am entirely convinced that the 2 per cent. is well within the mark. In the short time that was available for this entire investigation it has not been possible to use the scale extensively or systematically; nevertheless, by careful samplings here and there, results have been obtained that are strikingly significant. I give these results as concisely and clearly as possible.

First, three ungraded classes were examined *in toto*. These three classes comprised forty-six children, of whom twenty-nine were distinctly feeble-minded, ranging from

four to nine years backward. Eight more were three years backward; six were two years backward, and three were one year backward. There is every reason to believe that a good proportion (with the possibility that all) of the fourteen who were two and three years backward will prove to be feeble-minded; for we have discovered from our study of mental defectives that there is a type of child that slows down until about the age of nine or ten; and then stops; so that many children of eleven or twelve who, by the test, are only two years backward, are found to be near their stopping place, and do not develop after that. By the time they are thirteen or fourteen they reveal themselves as distinctly feeble-minded.

Tests were made also of eighty-one children in the special or E classes. Of these, twenty-nine were feeble-minded, being from four to eight years behind; fifteen were three years behind; sixteen were two years behind; fourteen were one year backward, and seven were at age. It will be seen that in this case more than one-third of the members of these E classes were distinctly feeble-minded. It seems hardly possible that such a percentage holds for the total of E classes. Nevertheless, the test indicates, as we should expect, that a large percentage of the pupils in the E classes are mentally defective. There are nearly 25,000 children in the special E classes. It would be a very conservative estimate to say that not 33 per cent., but 10 per cent., of these are defective. This would give us 2,500 defective children in these classes alone.

We examined twenty-two children in the special D classes, those preparing for a working certificate. Of the twenty-two examined, twenty-one were from four to eight years backward, being feeble-minded; one was three years backward, possibly not feeble-minded. These were in two schools. In one case the entire class was examined—at least all that were present that day, it being a holiday for some of the children—and the eleven present were all feeble-minded; the teacher assured us that those who were

absent were, in her opinion, much more deficient than any of those present. Likewise, in the second class, where there were twenty-seven enrolled, and eleven were examined, all were from five to eight years back, therefore feeble-minded. In this class also the teacher assured us that the worst cases had not been tested—only the doubtful ones. But ignoring that, and taking the facts alone, we still have ten out of twenty-six who are feeble-minded. That is almost 40 per cent. There are in the D classes 2,461 children. If this proportion holds throughout the D classes of the city, there are almost 1,000 feeble-minded children in this group alone.

In neither of these groups, the special E classes or the special D classes, is it maintained that we have a sample of the entire group of children. It is entirely possible that these classes in other sections of the city are made up quite differently and do not contain so large a percentage of defectives; nevertheless, the fact remains that in some sections they are made up of defectives, and these children should be in the ungraded classes instead of where they are.

Besides these groups we have also tested a few children from the regular grades in each of five schools, one of these schools already having an ungraded class. Of one hundred and fifteen children tested in the five schools, thirty-three were distinctly feeble-minded, and thirty more were borderline cases. These were, of course, selected cases. In each of these five schools, therefore, there is an average of twelve children that ought to be in an ungraded class, and there is no probability that we discovered all that there were in any one school. Moreover, these schools were located in the upper west side, lower west side, lower east side, Flushing, and Borough of Brooklyn, so that they are fairly representative of the city.

Furthermore, in one high school, at the request of a teacher, we examined five cases that were selected by her. They all proved to be feeble-minded. Asked how feeble-minded children came to be in the high school, the reply was, "They are not allowed to stay more than two years

in any one grade, and so they are promoted whether they are fit or not, and in that way get into the high school."

Since the publication of this paragraph in the Interim Report and its attempted denial by the Superintendent of Schools, a number of teachers in different high schools in New York have told the writer that they knew positively of defective children in their schools; hence it is perfectly clear that the incident here cited, which was carefully examined and tested, is by no means the only case of the kind in the high schools of New York.

I believe that the foregoing figures amply justify the conclusion that there are 15,000 feeble-minded children in the public schools of New York, and even make it probable that the estimate is a conservative one. I should add that many a principal has assured me that he has in his regular classes more than enough children to make another ungraded class in his school, and my own observation has abundantly confirmed that statement.

From all of this I conclude that whereas there are now more than 2,000 children in the ungraded classes, and there are ungraded classes in less than one-fourth of the schools of the city, if they all had classes they would thus get 8,000 children on the present basis of selection, but the present basis of selection gets certainly not more than half of the defectives. Therefore, we have a right to double that again, which would give us more than our 15,000.

If, as said above, the proportion does not quite hold in some schools, this would be more than made up by the very high percentage of defectives in some of the other groups—the D classes and the E classes already referred to; and also the C classes, those made up of non-English-speaking children. "Non-English-speaking" very often means too mentally defective to learn the language in the usual time. Many a mentally defective child is excused and declared to be normal on the ground that he does not understand the language, the teacher forgetting that the normal child of almost any foreign nation learns our lan-

guage in an amazingly short time—barring the children that hear no English except in school.

There are 1,464 children in the C classes, those who do not speak English. It is more than probable that a high percentage of these—at least a percentage much higher than that we give for the general group—are feeble-minded, and must have special instruction in the language because they are too defective to readily pick it up. In other words, this is only an illustration of what we find regularly, that a physical condition often obscures the mental defect. A child may be feeble-minded, but if he is also a foreigner we ascribe his defect to "language"; just as in adult life, when a man is feeble-minded, and as a result of that a drunkard, the alcoholism always obscures the feeble-mindedness. People say, "Yes, he is weak, but he would be all right if he did not drink."

We have another group, although of no great significance from the point of view of numbers. There are in the city 490 crippled children in special schools. Undoubtedly a high percentage of these are mentally defective. Also many feeble-minded children who are crippled, blind, or deaf, have been shut out of the schools. The actual number of all these should be ascertained. It is only logical to conclude that of the mentally defective children a large percentage become crippled because of their lack of sufficient intelligence to avoid ordinary dangers. This, indeed, is one of the phrases used by Tredgold to define feeble-mindedness.

The Solution of the Problem

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

IT must be recognized that children who are mentally defective can never earn a living except under the most favorable conditions, and such conditions certainly do not exist in our large cities, especially New York. Therefore, this army of 15,000 children is bound to be more or less a burden upon society.

Again, careful studies have shown that this condition of mental defect is hereditary in somewhere from 65 per cent. to 90 per cent. of the cases. The studies of the children at the Vineland Training School show 65 per cent. with marked feeble-minded ancestry. Tredgold of England and the Royal Commission accept from 80 per cent. to 90 per cent. as due to a "morbid heredity."

Applying this to our problem, then, we find that from 10,000 to 12,000 or 13,000 of these children will, when they grow up and marry, produce children defective like themselves. It has further been shown that they produce children in large numbers, increasing at twice the rate of the general population.

Again we see the enormous size of the problem.

IMPORTANCE OF DETERMINING FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

The foregoing facts, briefly stated for the purposes of this report, would seem to lead logically to the following broad policy. Feeble-mindedness is the important and fundamental fact, with which we are concerned. It is therefore the first thing to be determined and made the basis for

all other procedure. Provision for crippled children is proper, but if the crippled child is also feeble-minded, then it is primarily his feeble-mindedness that should determine his treatment, and not the fact that he is a cripple. That he is more likely to be feeble-minded than is the normal boy follows from the fact that feeble-minded children are, because of their mental defect, more incapable of avoiding ordinary dangers than are the normal children, and consequently they meet with accidents which the normal children escape. Therefore there is a greater presumption of mental defect in the case of cripples. The same argument holds for all other groups that require special treatment.

Classes for children who require a little special help to bring them up to grade or to normal standards, or to help them over some temporary difficulty, are among the wisest and most useful expedients in our public school policy. In these classes, in the very nature of the case, there is imminent danger of including defectives, unless all slow and backward children are examined by experts and the mental defectives carefully selected. As has been shown, the E classes contain a very high percentage of mental defectives. In the E classes actually examined, we found one-third of the pupils defective. We have not taken this ratio as a basis for our estimate, but have been exceedingly conservative and allowed it to be only 10 per cent. However, it is by no means impossible that it might be as high as 33 per cent., for, as said above, there is every probability that a very large percentage of defectives would get into these classes. Of the classes for coaching children so that they can get their working papers (called D classes in New York) one might almost say that nearly all the children must be mental defectives. The child who is 14 years old and cannot pass an examination in fourth grade work is almost surely feeble-minded. It consequently results that these "working paper classes," as they are called, are in fact merely a device for cramming these children with mechanical or rote work so that they can somehow, by

hook or crook, pass the examinations for working certificates. It is not education; it is not making them any more efficient; it is simply evading the law.

TWO POSSIBLE BUT NOT APPLICABLE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEM OF WHAT TO DO WITH DEFECTIVES

In view of these facts, what shall be done with the feeble-minded child? Two solutions have been proposed for this problem. One is permanent segregation so that they could never become parents; and the other, surgical sterilization. In the present condition of society neither of these solutions is applicable to any considerable proportion of these 15,000 children. They cannot be placed in institutions or in colonies, for the reason that their parents will not consent. They cannot be sterilized for the same reason. The great majority must live their lives in the environment in which they are born. A great majority of them will become parents, and the problem will become increasingly larger for us until such time as we are driven to take drastic measures of one form or another.

FURTHER DATA AND MORE KNOWLEDGE NEEDED FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

Meanwhile, what can be done? First of all, a body of undisputed facts bearing on the problem should be collected. For example, I have asserted my belief that there are 15,000 mentally deficient children in the schools of New York. I have backed up that opinion by certain facts and arguments which make it imperative that the truth be ascertained. It is not enough to rest upon the opinion of some one else that such a number is preposterous. The true number may be less; it may be more. But something approaching the exact figure should be obtained.

Actual data should be accumulated as to what becomes of these children after they have left the ungraded classes,

of the children in E classes, the C classes, and all others who show in their school work that they are not perfectly normal, to the end that we may know what effect our methods are having upon these children, and to what extent we have wisely judged them and treated them.

We need a great deal more knowledge concerning the effect of the methods of sterilization. Until we have it we cannot speak with assurance when it comes to the question, "Shall this person be sterilized?"

With a body of knowledge behind us, it will not be difficult to take action looking toward the solution of the problem, not only for securing efficient and far-reaching laws for the sterilization of the unfit in a much more helpful way than any of the laws now in force, but also for showing parents that segregation in institutions is the wisest thing that can be done for their children, unless they are willing to have them sterilized, if that shall have proved a wise procedure.

In our attempt to estimate the probable size of this problem, we should not forget that the figures so far produced relate to children actually in the public schools, and that, besides these, there are many more children who are deficient. For example, there are large numbers of children not in the public schools. The investigator has been told frequently that, when children do not get along in the public schools, they are taken out and sent to other schools. If this is true, it may be that the percentage of defective children in these other schools would be considerably larger than that which we have assumed for the public schools; at any rate, as high a percentage would hold. In the nature of the case, one would expect that the percentage of defectives in these schools would be high. This has been corroborated by observation in at least one such school.

INSTITUTIONS OR COLONIES FOR THE SEGREGATION OF DEFECTIVES

Having accumulated the facts and acquired sufficient knowledge of the problem, we should next work toward institutions or colonies for the segregation of these children. Whether parents will allow their children to go to an institution is largely a question of two factors: first, the distance of that institution from the child's home, involving the possibility of occasional visits; and, second, the character of the institution where the child is to be placed.

The City of New York has an institution for the feeble-minded at Randall's Island. As to the character of that institution, I am not expressing an opinion: but, whatever be its real character and worth, it is unfortunately true that in the popular mind its reputation is not good. Whether their opinions are well founded or not, the fact remains that parents are opposed to sending their children to Randall's Island. They tell the most disquieting stories of the treatment that their children have received. This same attitude of the parents was also found by Dr. Anna Moore in her study of "The Feeble-minded in New York." [1]

One of the two possible solutions of the problem, What shall be done with the mentally defective child in New York? is segregation and colonization. It is, therefore, most unfortunate that the one institution which the city supports for that purpose should have such a reputation as to make this solution difficult and often impossible. It is possible to have colonies and institutions so attractive that parents are eager to have their children placed there. This has been demonstrated in many places the country over.[2] Until we come to the point where we decide to take these

[1] "The Feeble Minded in New York," a report prepared for the Public Education Association. Published by The State Charities Aid Association, New York, June, 1911.

[2] E. g., Waverley, Mass.; Faribault, Minn.; Polk, Pa.

children forcibly away from their parents, whether they are willing or not, everything depends upon winning the parents' consent; and this can be done if the institutions are conducted in the right way, and if entrance to them has been made simple and pleasant. Children may be made happy and as useful as their limitations will permit. Wherever the children become trainable to such an extent that they are earning something, it might even pay the State or the city to make some return to the parents, if their plea should be that they want to take the children home because of what they can earn for them. It would be cheaper for society to pay the parents a certain amount for the work of the child, and have absolute control of the child, than to send it home, and out into the world where later it would produce more children of the same kind, or become a criminal.

TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP

Finally, all who cannot be thus taken care of, in such a way as to provide against the reproduction of the same type of children, must be made as good citizens as possible.

How can we make them as good citizens as possible?

It is well known that a happy person is a better citizen than an unhappy one. It is, therefore, perfectly logical to maintain that, if we can make these children happy, we are taking the first step toward securing the best citizenship that we can get from them.

Secondly, people are more likely to be happy when they have some occupation, something that they can do with some satisfaction to themselves. Therefore, if we can train these children so that they have some little skill, even though in only one activity, and not sufficient to enable them to earn a living, they have an occupation; this will make them happy and tend to keep them out of mischief and to make them as little a burden upon society as possible. It would appear, therefore, that it is necessary for

society to see to it that these defective children are trained to be happy and as useful as they can be made.

WHY THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM MUST CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM

The next question is, Who shall do it, and how shall it be done? This question is fundamental, and must be satisfactorily answered.

If seems clear that these children are not proper candidates for such education as the public school is now able to give, and, to that extent, do not belong in the system. But the fact still remains that they must be cared for. To the extent that society understands the situation, it will certainly demand that these children be cared for and trained. Whether society will place the burden upon the public school system, or whether it will establish another agency for doing this work, remains to be seen. If the latter plan is adopted, then, of course, the public school system is relieved, and the next step would be the establishment of some tribunal which would decide all doubtful cases. But even if the public continues to say that the educational system is nearer to this problem than any organization that can be brought into use, it does not necessarily follow that the educational system, as it now is, is prepared for these children or must take them in and treat them as it does other children. Rather it follows that the educational department must enlarge its scope and make special provision for such children.

There are in New York three existent organizations that might take charge of this matter: the schools, the courts, and the charities department. If none of these is considered adequate, we must create a new organization, whose sole business it shall be to care for all mentally defective persons. In the opinion of the writer, the data so far available seem clearly to indicate that the public school is the

most promising agency for this work. In the first place, 98 per cent. of all children are normal and go to school. If any other agency is to take charge of the other 2 per cent., there must inevitably be some controversy between the two agencies. Borderline cases will always be a source of annoyance and trouble. If a mistake is made and they are sent to school when they should be sent to the agency for defectives, that is serious. On the other hand, if they are normal and are sent to the agency for defectives, that is perhaps even more serious. If the school authorities have the whole problem, then all children go to school and the school department decides into which group the children shall be placed. The school people are, or easily become, the most expert in deciding who is capable of taking the regular instruction and who requires the special form of training needed by the defective; and the school people can also be trusted to arrange to send those children who are unable to profit by school instruction to institutions for defectives where they can be permanently segregated and properly cared for.

There seems to be no logical reason why the courts should be encumbered with this problem. In ordinary affairs, only a small number of the defectives would naturally come before them. To provide the courts with the necessary machinery to care for defectives would be to duplicate what is already provided in whatever other agency takes charge of the great mass of defectives. If the school takes charge of them and is thoroughly equipped in the way outlined, then its records would be available for all court cases. The school authorities should have a complete record of any child that comes before the Juvenile Court. If that record shows that the child is defective, then the child should be referred back to the school for care and treatment. If the record shows the child not defective, then he is responsible and a legitimate case for court procedure.

As for the Charities Department, that is out of the question. The problem we are considering has nothing to do

with charity, and should not be confused by association with it.

It is entirely likely that, especially in New York City, a special commission on the defective would smooth out many difficult places and go a long way toward solving many of the problems of dealing with the feeble-minded child. Because of long established custom, many children come before the Charities Department first, others get into the Juvenile Court, and others into school. It would probably be easier for the various agencies to turn these children over at once to a Commission on Defectives, than it would to decide to which of the other agencies to send them. Again there will inevitably come up the question of removing these children from their families to institutions. A high commission with authority could act on this matter much more impartially than the school could do. There is also the question of sterilization, which a number of states now permit, and which could be put into the hands of this commission, to act as their good judgment determined. There are those who, in spite of all arguments, still insist that the care and treatment of defective children is not a school matter: that these children, being mentally defective, should be taken out of the schools and segregated in colonies. Theoretically, I believe these people are exactly right. At best, the mental defectives are going to be, throughout their lives, misfits in society, barely eking out an existence, barely self-supporting in a very small percentage of the cases, and dependants in all the rest.

EXTENSION AND EXPANSION OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF DEALING WITH DEFECTIVES

An elaborate expansion and an expensive extension of the school plant are required to care for them as we are proposing. It is quite possible that figures will show that our proposal is much more expensive than the proposal to care for the mentally defective children in colonies. Fur-

thermore, it is more than possible that our best efforts in training them in special classes or special schools accomplish so little for their training that it is not worth while. But all these facts and figures are hardly worth compiling until society is ready to face the problem without flinching and to take such action as is involved in removing from his home and forcibly separating from his parents every feeble-minded child. That seems to the writer to be the insurmountable difficulty at the present time. Until we come to the point where we decide it is best to use drastic measures, we must provide for these children in some other way. The easiest way seems to be the method outlined. This should not prevent us from keeping—indeed, it should compel us to keep—most careful statistics as to the cost and the results of the care of these children through the agency of the public school. After a few years we should thus have definite data on our problem. If it can be shown that the cost is vastly greater than it would be even to provide colonies for this enormous number of defectives, then a strong argument against colonization is silenced.

A SEPARATE SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

The next question is: What must the educational department do in order to provide for these children?

The attempt to make citizens of this class of children by the same method that is used with normal children has been tried, and has failed. We have always had such children in our schools, and they have always failed to be benefited by the regular school treatment. Under the compulsory education law, we are getting more of them in our schools, and have finally been driven to placing them in these ungraded classes. Having learned something of the lesson that experience has taught us, we have consented to devote nearly half their time to manual training, and we have seen beneficial results.

The next step is to recognize what has been accepted by nearly all the people who have studied this problem carefully and have done most toward its solution, viz.: that book work is practically useless for these children, and that our work with them, instead of being half manual, should be *all* manual and vocational. Careful psychological studies of the type of mind possessed by these defectives show that they are incapable of dealing with abstractions, and that *everything is abstract with them that does not concern those things that enter into their daily life and experience.*

They should, therefore, be placed under a distinct system which is not bound by the rules and regulations of the regular schools. The system should be so arranged that there would be a large amount of freedom and opportunity to train each child in the way in which he is found to be best capable of development. There need be no deep gulf between this system and the other. It should always be easy for a child who has by some misunderstanding been placed in this group, but who shows ability, to get back into the normal grade at any time; just as, at the other end of the scale, it should be easy to send all children, whose parents will permit it, to the colonies or institutions where they are made happy and useful for life.

Such a plan might well occupy the entire time and attention of a superintendent of schools for mental defectives; and, recognizing as it does the fundamental facts and conditions of the problem, it might at the same time embody the most important suggestions that we have recorded as coming from the experience of principals and teachers.

Separate schools would thus be established for these children, each one under a principal who would be an expert in this work, who could devote his entire time to the problem, and give the adequate supervision which is so seriously needed. In such schools grading would be possible. The lowest grade cases, for whom little can be done, could be put in one group, and the teacher in charge would only be

required to keep them happy, train them in simple habits, and do for them what their condition allows. Those who are a little higher could be put together in another class, and so on up to the highest class, which might well be a class of border-line cases. Of these, some might get back into the grades.

The question of supervision would thus be largely solved; and the solution of the question of trained teachers would be greatly helped, since it would be possible to obtain at once as principals of these schools persons who are efficient and well trained, and it would also be possible to obtain a few teachers who are equally well trained and capable of leading the work. The other teachers, by observation of their more experienced associates, would learn a large part of the methods that they need. Every effort should be made, however, to secure opportunities for these teachers to study large groups of defective children as they are found in institutions. The new Letchworth Village should become a training school for these teachers, and other institutions that may be established in the vicinity of New York should be planned with the same thing in view. These teachers could also be paid an ample salary, enough at the start to induce them to take up this work, with an ample increase to those who prove effective, who show by their zeal, enthusiasm, and willingness to study the problem, that they are of the right kind.

At least two states (New Jersey and Michigan) are proposing a salary scale such as the following: The teacher of the ungraded class who comes properly qualified, to receive a bonus of $100 the first year, $200 the second, $300 the third, and so on, until it becomes $500—this in addition to the regular salary of the grade teacher. To those unfamiliar with the work this may seem a large bonus. Few people realize the special ability, skill, and training required. These teachers have to be specialists, and, therefore, experts. Again, few realize the nerve-racking work, the discouragements, difficulties, and even dangers the teachers

have to face. An adequate salary is the least we can do for them.

Not only could the schools established on this independent and free basis devote themselves, so far as necessary, to manual work and vocational training, but this work could be so systematized as to have high educational value—a thing which the present manual work in the ungraded classes, as a rule, does not have, because of lack of grading and systematic development. They would also be able to control the question of material and provide what was needed for their work.

Ultimately these schools would develop into home schools, keeping the children as many hours as possible, many of them even over night. And, finally, they should develop into city institutions for defectives, thus largely solving the problem.

THE COST OF A SEPARATE SYSTEM AND SPECIAL SCHOOLS

I shall not in this volume work out the details of the system. It can be seen in its perfection at the Institution for Feeble-minded in Waverley, Massachusetts, where children of lower grade than any usually found in the ungraded classes are trained to wonderful skill in doing things, and toward earning a living.

At this point the question of expense is forced upon us. There is only one answer to the question of cost. *Whatever it costs, it must be done.* This problem is as fundamental to our social well-being as our courts, our sewerage system, or quarantine service. In addition to what it will do for these children themselves and for society as a whole, we must not forget the value of the work to the children in the normal grades. The regular classes are relieved of the burden of these defective children, the teachers are able to do vastly better work, and the children receive the benefit. But more than that. When we consider this problem, as we have done, from the social standpoint, and realize what

it may mean to have these children properly cared for and trained, we see that we can ill afford not to expend large sums for the sake of saving them from becoming public nuisances. Therefore, the question of expense must not enter into the consideration. We have these children. They can only be dealt with in one way, and we must do it, whatever the expense. We must appropriate large sums of money to care for them, in order to save larger expense in caring for them later in almshouses and prisons, to say nothing of their numerous progeny.

Every State Institution for the feeble-minded should conduct a training school for teachers. If these institutions have not the material facilities for doing this, the State should make proper provision therefor. If they have not the teachers or experts in pedagogy to attend to this, connection should be made with the State University, whereby its educational department should coöperate in this matter. Failing departments of education in the State University, some of the State Normal Schools could very well make this connection and help the State to solve its problem in this way.

It is becoming every day more evident that the special school, separate and independent from the regular school, is the wisest solution of this matter. Every accepted principle in school management and in school hygiene points to the necessity for a complete separation of the normal and the defective. Daily more cities are trying the separate school plan and always with eminent success. Only those who fail to grasp the problem in all its phases still maintain the advantage of the class or the group of classes in schools for normal children.

DIFFICULTIES TO OVERCOME IN ESTABLISHING SPECIAL SCHOOLS

There are, it is true, some difficulties to overcome in the establishment of special schools, in place of the present un-

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Boys in an Ungraded Class Being Taught How to Cane Chairs.

graded classes. But the advantages are so great that methods of overcoming the difficulties should be found. In many places, where the regular schools are now so close together, it would be easy to fill a new school with these mentally defective pupils, without involving any long journeys for any of them. In other places that would be more difficult, and it might involve the transportation of some of them, as the cripples are now conveyed. This would of itself be quite a problem, because the defective children are more difficult to handle en route than are the cripples. Nevertheless, that would not be an insurmountable difficulty.

The difficulty in transporting defective children as compared with cripples is, first, that they are able to move about more and make more disturbance in any conveyance in which they are placed; second, they are mischievous, and sometimes because of previous bad treatment, even malicious; and third, and most serious of all, there are very grave sexual dangers either when the opposite sexes are together, or even between children of the same sex. This means that they would have to be transported under very careful supervision, but as said above, this difficulty is by no means insurmountable and in many cases it would pay well to transport them, even at the added expense of supervisors to care for them en route.

It is sometimes thought that it would be more difficult to get parents to allow their child to attend these schools than to allow him to go into a special class while he attends the same school that he has always been attending. This again, is a fictitious argument of those who fail to grasp the true nature of the defective child and the possibilities of the special school. People make no objection to sending their children to manual training schools, vocational schools, or trade schools, even though in the minds of many people it is a distinct reflection on the child's ability to send him anywhere except to a classical school. Make these special schools trade schools, occupational schools, schools where something is done and accomplished

by the child, and parents will be as willing to have their children placed in them as they now are to place them in vocational or trade schools.

Parents can easily be convinced of the many advantages of separate schools. These advantages have been pointed out by various principals. In such schools the defective children are away from the normal children and escape the bullying and teasing to which they are liable. To obviate this under the present régime, the ungraded classes are now called and dismissed at different times from the regular school. If the term "ungraded class" has come to have such a significance that parents or children are apt to regard it as synonymous with "crazy class" or something equally unpleasant, an entirely different name could be chosen. Moreover, the character of the school, because of the work and the trained principals and teachers, would soon free it from any odium that might otherwise attach to it. The success that many of the children would have in going to work after they left school would soon make it appeal to the parents.

The question of what children should be sent to these schools is one of the most difficult of all. The present method in New York City, as has been pointed out by the inspector of ungraded classes and the superintendents of schools, is entirely inadequate. One examiner cannot attend to so much work. There should be several assistants; and, when the full size of the problem is recognized, it will be understood that there should be a considerable number of them. Indeed, it is entirely probable that, under ideal conditions, we should examine by the Binet scale, or any that may prove more efficient, every child that enters school, and, from time to time, all children who are not doing their regular work understandingly.

Still another thing that will need to be seriously studied, and which is now ignored, is the fact that many children do not show their defects until they are about nine or ten years old. The consequence of this is that the children often get

into the grammar school before showing any serious defect. Then they begin to slow down in their development, and before they get through the grammar school they are decidedly deficient. Under the present system these children are often not discovered at all because some principals understand that no child is to be recommended for the ungraded class who has progressed beyond the primary school. The result is that there are many children in the seventh and eighth grades who are repeaters for two or three years, and are really mentally defective (although they would generally be of high grade—morons).

DEFECTIVE CHILDREN AS WAGE-EARNERS

In regard to working papers, it probably would not be difficult to have the law so modified that children who are recognized as belonging to this type should have (qualified) working papers, which would enable them to take such place as they could without being required to come up to the standard now required of normal children.

The whole question of the defective child going to work is one which at first sight seems to have many difficulties. Probably the wise thing to do is simply to exempt entirely from any law, those who are feeble-minded. This will not subject them to the evils of long hours and sweat-shop practices, because the feeble-minded child cannot be sweated. It is but rarely that he can be employed in the regular way at all. He is unable to earn enough to make him a profitable employee. The importance of the point raised is that in many cases these children are no longer getting anything profitable in school; and in some cases they can do work at home for their mothers or fathers who may have some little business of their own where they can employ the child. In a few cases, some other employer may, for one reason or another, be induced to take these children on and give them a little something in the way of wages which contributes to the family support, but most of all it gives the child

pleasant employment and makes him happy. We have found many principals and teachers of these classes who have asserted that, were it not for the child labor law, they could provide for certain children much better than can be done in school. It is to provide for just such as these that the above proposition is made. Under the present condition these children, as has been said, are either in school doing nothing profitable, or, still worse, are on the street. So far as the welfare of the child and the community is concerned, nothing is gained by making him amenable to the present law, but rather very much is lost.

In connection with the labor of these children, comes up another problem of more or less serious proportions. It is quite possible that we may find in course of our attempts at industrial training, that there are certain kinds of piece work that these children can be trained to do; something that is simple and uniform and does not require a great amount of judgment or intelligence. Such things should be tried out and the children trained along these lines. Then they become wage-earners in this direction. Even if they are in school, they may do this work; they would then be earning something and, which is much more important, would be happy in doing something.

It is suggested that the labor unions would object to this kind of work with the feeble-minded children. One cannot refrain from expressing the conviction that any labor union that considers it necessary to be afraid of the competition of the feeble-minded is deserving of the ridicule that it would likely receive.

Recommendations

CHAPTER IX

RECOMMENDATIONS

IN view of the importance of this problem and the future welfare of our people, I should recommend a radical enlargement and extension of the work of the ungraded classes:

1. By the appointment of a Superintendent of Schools and Classes for Defectives.

The name of this officer is immaterial. The term "superintendent" here used is intended to convey the idea of a person in complete authority, an expert who organizes and administers a system of education and training for these children just as our best superintendents of schools administer the schools for normal children under their care. Indeed a large city like New York should select some successful superintendent from a smaller city, and put him in charge of this work.

Because a two-headed system is almost always unsatisfactory he should be in a general way subordinate to the superintendent of schools. That he may be unhampered in his work by the necessity of justifying his every action to any committee or individual, experience will have to determine largely what responsibilities and authorities shall be given to this individual. There is nothing to go by at present, since no city and no country in the world has yet taken a large view of this problem and dealt with it accordingly. Such a person, call him what you will,—superintendent, supervisor, director, inspector or manager,—should have probably the following powers:

a. Complete authority to decide what children belong in the classes for defectives.

b. Authority to provide accommodation for these classes—buildings and rooms.

c. The selection, examining and appointment of teachers.

d. The establishing of the curriculum or course of training to be followed.

2. By greatly increasing the appropriations for the work in accordance with the needs, as determined by those in charge of the problem.

3. By the appointment at once of at least four associate inspectors of ungraded classes.

This number is based upon an estimate of the number of associate inspectors believed to be needed at the time this report is made. Experience may prove that more are needed, and as the number of schools and classes increases more certainly will be required. The same is true of the next recommendation.

4. By the appointment at once of five more examiners (psychologists and physicians), whose duty it should be to determine what children shall be placed in these classes. Additional examiners should be appointed as needed. All repeaters and over-age pupils, together with all pupils now in any of the special classes C, D, E, and ungraded, should be tested by the Binet-Simon scale in the hands of experts trained in its use (as is done in Rochester, New York; Cleveland, Ohio; and other places, with signal benefit to the school system).

5. By the establishment as fast as possible of special schools to take as many as possible of these ungraded classes out of the regular schools, to the end that the chil-

dren may be more adequately directed, supervised, graded, and instructed in appropriate manual training and vocational work.

6. By the appointment of a number of special assistants —six or eight—whose business it should be to follow up the history of defective children after they have passed through the schools. After a few years such histories would throw much-needed light on the value of the methods used, and would point the way to further steps toward protecting society from the future incubus of these irresponsible persons.

7. It is certainly the duty of the Department of Education to see that the present method of administering supplies is revised, so that the ungraded classes shall not be hampered in their work by the difficulty of obtaining the material and equipment which they need. (Many of the teachers at present spend practically all their bonus in purchasing supplies which should be furnished by the city.)

8. A substantial increase in the bonus paid to teachers of these classes (or schools) should be provided; this bonus should be graded, increasing year by year up to a certain limit; teachers should qualify for this increase annually, and only those who show proficiency and growth should be eligible to the advance.

9. Suitable steps should be taken as rapidly as possible to provide training classes for teachers of defectives. In addition to the class work and theoretical instruction, teachers in training should have access to model schools. These could perhaps be secured at Letchworth Village, or at other institutions for the feeble-minded. It is important that such model schools for the teachers in training should be in institutions for the feeble-minded. Only in such schools do the teachers see that the children are distinctly feeble-minded. If they see only the children in the ungraded

classes or special schools, they tend more or less to retain the impression that the children are really normal, or will yet prove normal; and this impression (or conviction) is a serious handicap to their work.

10. The child labor law should be so modified as not to apply in its present form to children who have been declared mentally defective. These children should be allowed to go to work as soon as those in charge of the schools or classes conclude that it is more profitable for them to be under the direction of their parents or in regular work than in the schools. However, this should apply only to such cases as cannot be placed in an institution or colony for the feeble-minded.

11. That appropriate domestic, industrial and manual training be made the principal subjects in all these classes; such work in reading, writing, and numbers as is taught should be given as far as possible, in connection with the hand work.

CONCLUSION

I find after careful investigation of practically all the ungraded classes in New York City that, while a great work is being done, a work which cannot and must not be stopped because of its value to the children who are in the regular grades, yet, for lack of funds, and for lack of adequate help to carry out the plan, the work is very far from being what it should be. Many children are not getting what they might get because of lack of equipment and material in the classroom. Many children are not in the classes who ought to be in them, because they cannot be passed upon and transferred to these classes, owing to the lack of help to make the examination. Many defective children are still in the grades unrecognized. The entire treatment of defective children is very inadequate, owing to the failure to recognize the high-grade type of mental defective. Much

time is wasted in teaching children reading, writing, and counting who will never be able to make any use of them. The whole movement is handicapped for lack of trained teachers; and this is largely because of lack of sufficient financial inducement to good teachers to go into the work.

In this report I have only touched the most important aspects of the problem. It is useless to go into details until these are considered. In my recommendations I have mentioned only the most important items. Many minor ones will follow inevitably if these larger and most important matters receive due consideration and lead to proper action.

Pending the adoption of the larger and better system recommended herein, it is possible to make many improvements in the present classes in accordance with the suggestions given above, and this should be done at once.

I cannot conclude this revision of the report for a larger audience without an appeal to all thinking citizens and all educators to study seriously this problem of the defective. Approximately 2 per cent. of our school population are so defective mentally that they will never be able to live an independent existence in the world, and a vastly larger number are so dull and slow in their school work that the ordinary classroom routine is unprofitable for them. It is clear that such a condition is no trivial matter. It is worthy of the attention of the largest minds and deserves the most careful study. The education of the more than 700,000 normal children in New York City is being made more expensive and less efficient by the presence among them of the 15,000 defectives, while the defectives themselves, instead of being usefully trained and educated to the extent of their capacity, are being positively injured, and are allowed to leave school a distinct menace to society.

Those cities that attack the problem in a large way and establish a complete and intelligent system of dealing with defective children will soon find that many other problems, both educational and social, are greatly reduced in seriousness.

Appendix

APPENDIX

Examination Questions Set for Candidates for the Position of Teacher of Ungraded Classes in New York City and for the Position of Assistant Inspector of Ungraded Classes

The following are sample lists of questions set for the examination of teachers for ungraded classes. They are presented here not as models but as data for the study of the situation in New York City.

The purpose of examinations is supposed to be to eliminate the unfit and to ascertain those who have the necessary attainments for doing the work covered by the examination. Unless examination questions are so formulated that they accomplish, to some slight degree at least, this result they are, of course, useless.

One who studies these questions carefully may be in doubt as to whether they are likely to accomplish the desired result. Some of the questions call for information which does not exist; some are based on a discarded psychology; others call, not for general information, or statements that can be learned from textbooks, but instead that which is special and peculiar to some individual instructor. The question could be thus answered by pupils of that instructor but by no one else. A few others call for abilities not required to teach an ungraded class even under the widest interpretation of "general culture."

In view of the fact stated in the text, that there are now many teachers who are certified for the ungraded classes who are totally unprepared for their work, and on the other

hand a number of substitutes who have failed to pass the examination were found who were doing most excellent work, we can but raise the question whether a better system of examination would not produce better results.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, CITY OF NEW YORK
EXAMINATION FOR LICENSE TO TEACH UNGRADED CLASSES
APRIL 15, 1909.

METHODS

Time, Two hours. Candidate's No....

1. (a) Describe two kinds of speech defects to be found in ungraded class children. (6)
   (b) Outline a series of exercises for the curative treatment of each kind. (10)
2. Describe the form board, and the method of using it. (12)
3. Make a plan for a lesson the aim of which is to lead to the recognition of the figure 8. (12)
4. Describe two exercises designed respectively to cultivate motor control in respect of: (a) inhibition, and (b) co-ordination. Give reasons for the choice of exercises. (24)
5. Show how story-telling may be successfully used for specific moral ends. (Specify stories and indicate methods.) (24)
6. Give three illustrations of how to make "busy work" effective. Indicate clearly with respect to such work the duties of the teacher. (12)

EXAMINATION FOR LICENSE AS TEACHER OF UNGRADED CLASSES, DECEMBER, 1909.

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION

Time, Two hours. Candidate's No....

1. Enumerate, in separate classes, ten common causes of mental deficiencies. (5)

2. In what ways does the nervous system of an eight-year-old child differ from that of a five-year-old? What dangers are incident to the state of nervous development of an eight-year-old child? How may the child be protected from these dangers? (8)
3. Define memory. Describe tests for determining (a) type of memory; (b) impressibility of memory; (c) retentiveness of memory; (d) accuracy of memory. (10)
4. (a) Explain the following terms: adenoids, hypertrophied tonsils, malnutrition. (3)
   (b) What symptoms in the child should lead a teacher to suspect the presence of the conditions or defects named in (a)? (6)
5. What is the scope of the co-operation which must be established by the teacher outside of school if ungraded class children are to have every chance to improve? How is this to be attained? (8)

Examination for License to Teach Ungraded Classes

May, 1911.

Principles

Time, Two and one half hours.

Candidate's No....

1. What are the characteristics of Mongolian idiocy? What is the present day theory of the cause of this type of mental deficiency? (10)
2. Name the physiological functions the development of which throws light on the probable mental condition of a child. Show how this knowledge may be practically used by a teacher. (8)

3. Name the types of memory. Illustrate how each type may be tested and how each may be trained. (8)
4. Define the following: squint, puberty, eugenics, thyroid, dentition, chorea. (6)
5. What are the Binet Tests? (8)

EXAMINATION FOR LICENSE TO TEACH UNGRADED CLASSES
MAY, 1911.

PRACTICAL TESTS

Time, One hour. Candidate's No....

Sewing

1. On the material provided illustrate:
   (a) Buttonhole stitch
   (b) Overhanding
   (c) Hemming (10)

EXAMINATION FOR LICENSE TO TEACH UNGRADED CLASSES
MAY, 1911.

PRACTICAL TESTS

Time, One hour. Candidate's No....

Drawing

1. Make as for the blackboard two series of drawings showing (a) the germination of beans or corn; (b) the development of buds of the horse-chestnut or pussy willow. (5)
2. Make a working drawing of a color box having six 4″x4″x2″ compartments. Use ½″ stock. Draw to ½ scale. (5)

APRIL, 1913.

PRINCIPLES

Two and one half hours.

1. What are the characteristics of Mongolian idiocy? What is the present day theory of the cause of this type of mental deficiency?
2. Name the physiological functions the development of which throws light on the probable mental condition of a child. Show how this knowledge may be practically used by a teacher.
3. Name the types of memory. Illustrate how each type may be tested and how each child may be trained.
4. Define squint, puberty, eugenics, thyroid, dentition, chorea.
5. What are the Binet Tests?

PRACTICAL TESTS

One hour.

1. Describe in detail a method of testing the power of imagination in defective pupils, stating the materials used. Of what specific use to a teacher is such testing?
2. Describe the form-board. Tell just how by the use of this board the mental ability of defectives may be determined.
3. Indicate the relation between intuition and mental power. Illustrate.

Sewing

(a) Buttonhole stitch
(b) Overhanding
(c) Hemming

Methods of Teaching

Two hours.

1. State in the order they should be taken—the types of work for the correction of stuttering.
2. Outline an example which presents 3 types of work given designed to promote neuro-muscular co-ordination.
3. Describe kind of construction work that should be given to a choreic child.
4. What is meant by objective method? How may it be properly used in teaching number? Under what circumstances is it necessary in teaching number? —illustrate.
5. Suppose a child has difficulty in discriminating sounds (m) (n). Describe a way to help it.

Principles of Education

Time, 2½ hours.

1. Define the following: eugenics, sterilization, neurotic, amentia, apperception, neurosis, segregation, echolalia, verbal memory, paranoia. (10)
2. Name 5 instincts—evidences of which may be seen in school children. What use should a teacher make of them? How? (10)
3. "By occupation is not meant any kind of busy work or exercises that may be given to a child in order to keep him out of mischief or idleness, when seated at his desk. By occupation I mean a mode of activity on the part of the child which reproduces or runs parallel to some form of work carried on in social life."—*John Dewey.*

   What activities in good ungraded class practice represent the occupation referred to in the above quotation? (10)

4. Classify the English consonant sounds. State clearly the bases of your classifications. (8)
5. Describe the characteristic marks of cretinism, Mongolianism, moral imbecility. (12)

EXAMINATION FOR LICENSE TO TEACH UNGRADED CLASSES
APRIL, 1913.

Time on drawing, 1 hour; on sewing, 1½ hours.
Candidate's No.....

DRAWING

1. Illustrate as for the blackboard, one of the following:
   (a) May-pole Dance.
   (b) A Farm Scene. (5)
2. Make working drawing of a color box 12″x8″x3″. Material used is ¾″ white wood. (5)

SEWING

1. On the material provided, illustrate:
   (a) Hemming.
   (b) Backstitching. (5)
2. With the materials provided, make a basket, the bottom of which is to be three inches in diameter. (5)

The following have been given at various times:

PRACTICAL TESTS

1. Make a pencil sketch to illustrate one of the following: Little Tommy Tucker, Simple Simon, Old Mother Hubbard, The House that Jack Built.
2. Imagine a table with a chair to the left and touching the table. The group is below the eye-level. Draw in outline the group as it would appear.
3. Illustrate, as for blackboard work:
   (a) Even basting stitch.
   (b) Combination stitch.

4. Join two pieces of material with a running seam, and finish edges with a hem ¼″ in depth.
5. Practical test.

Principles of Education

1. (a) State five facial or cranial marks or signs indicative of defective mentality.
   (b) State two characteristic physical marks or signs of idiocy.
   (c) State two characteristic physical marks or signs of cretinism.
2. Make a classification of mental defectives, indicating clearly the basis of the classification.
3. What is instinct? What is attention? Explain how instinct may be used in cultivating attention. Illustrate.
4. State the principles upon which a daily program for a defective class should be made.
5. (a) What features of school environment may react on the child in an unfavorable way?
   (b) Show how hygienic conditions may be promoted in the classroom.

Methods

1. (a) In what respects may the senses of mental defectives be trained?
   (b) Describe briefly typical exercises designed to train each of the senses, respectively.
2. Describe three exercises in physical training particularly suited to mental defectives, and indicate the value of each exercise.
3. Give three illustrations of how to make "busy-work" effective. Indicate clearly with respect to such work the duties of the teacher.
4. Show in detail the way in which "The Ugly Duckling," "The Three Bears," or some other story should be taught to a class of middle grade children.

5. Make a plan for a lesson on the study of germination of the bean, indicating the work of the teacher and the work of the pupils.
6. (a) What is meant by muscular co-ordination?
   (b) In what respects may muscular co-ordination be cultivated?
   (c) Describe briefly four exercises designed to improve muscular co-ordination.
   (d) Indicate the sequence to be followed in these exercises.

Principles of Education

1. (a) Name the characteristic marks of the Mongolian type of mental defective.
   (b) Define moral defective.
2. Explain in detail what is comprehended under the term "stigmata of degeneration."
3. (a) Make a program of a day's work for a class of mental defectives in a public school.
   (b) State your reasons for your time divisions, sequence of work.
   (c) State the principles according to which group work should be carried on.
4. Define crisis of development and state, in detail, how this knowledge would influence your work.
5. What is habit? Explain habit formation.
6. Show how play should be used in the development of a mentally defective child.

Practical Tests

Drawing

1. Make a working drawing of a marble board 11½" x 2½" x ⅝" having four openings for marbles 1¼" x 1¼". Scale ½".
2. Make sketch as for blackboard to illustrate: "Red Riding Hood," or "The Sweet Pea Plant," or "The Horse Chestnut Twig."

Basketry

3. Make three blackboard illustrations to be used when teaching how to make a reed basket.

Methods

1. Discuss speech defect in its relation to mental defect. Describe typical exercises for the cultivation of distinct articulation; of pure tone.
2. Outline an exercise in physical training based on the principle of imitation. What value has imitative work?
3. (a) Discuss formal sense training as to its scope: and
   (b) Show how the muscular sense should be trained.
4. (a) Name five kinds of forms of manual training that you would use with a class of mentally defective children.
   (b) Arrange these in sequence, on the basis of the degree of motor control found in a given child.
   (c) Give reason for your answer to (b).
5. How would you treat mind wandering; lack of initiative; obstructed will?
6. How should a lesson in subtraction be conducted with mentally defective children?

1. (a) Describe in detail a method of testing the power of imagination in defective pupils—stating materials used.
   (b) Of what specific use to a teacher is such testing? (10)
2. (a) Describe the form-board.
   (b) Tell just how by the use of this board the mental ability of defectives may be determined. (8)
3. Indicate the relation between nutrition and mental power. Illustrate. (8)
4. Describe the De Sanctis tests. (8)

5. Define the following:
   cretinism
   hysteria
   nystagmus
   strabismus
   moral imbecile
   tics (6)
1. To develop the "number sense" the teacher must begin with the indefinite unit. Indicate in detail the proper procedure in this regard. (15)
2. Outline as to material and as to method a course in formal sense training. (5)
3. Indicate the right educational treatment for a child who is characterized as a motor dullard.
4. Enumerate the various kinds of expressive work which should be found in ungraded classes and state the special use of each. Describe in detail a method of treating monotones—mentioning helpful devices.

DRAWING

1. Make a blackboard drawing appropriate to Thanksgiving.
2. Make a working drawing of a key rack.
3. Raffia basket—use lazy squaw stitch.
4. Make a buttonhole.

EXAMINATION FOR LICENSE AS ASSISTANT INSPECTOR OF UNGRADED CLASSES

DECEMBER 18, 1912. (A. M.)

METHODS OF TEACHING AND OF CLASS MANAGEMENT

Time, Three hours. Candidate's No.....

1. Outline a system of formal sense training; the outline should indicate the materials and the methods of presentation. (14)

2. State explicitly the bases of human speech; show by diagram the action between these; indicate on the diagram the location of the disturbances which result in the more common pathologies of speech. Upon what principles must the teacher proceed to effect the cure of defective speech? Show the application of these principles in two types of speech defect. (24)
3. Taking each of the following topics in turn, write a paragraph of about twenty lines regarding it, including principles, methods and suggestions:
   (a) Relation between motor dullness and mental efficiency.
   (b) Ways and means of developing in ungraded class children the power of inhibition. (16)
4. Outline in accordance with the sequence to be observed in teaching, a series of exercises for motor training to be given to a child whose neuro-muscular coordination is very poor. (14)
5. Make a program of one day's work for an ungraded class of sixteen children which will indicate what you hold to be the proper distribution of time and will also indicate the particular occupation of each child at any given time. (20)
6. Describe what you regard as a good method of teaching reading to ungraded class children. Give one reason for each feature of the method described. (12)

Examination for License as Assistant Inspector of Ungraded Classes

Psychology

Time, Three hours.

1. Describe three series of tests of intelligence (8) and state the specific merit claimed for each series and the objections to each. (8)

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2. State explicitly three different classifications of feeble-minded individuals. What is the principle of classification in each case? What advantages for the teacher has each classification which you have presented? (24)
3. Taking each of three of the following topics in turn, condense into a paragraph of about ten to fifteen lines the chief points that should be made regarding it. (14)
   (a) Ductless glands.
   (b) Mendelism.
   (c) Form board.
   (d) Montessori.
4. Make a topical outline of an article on a scheme for the cure of mentally defective persons. The outline should show your development of the topic; it should state the principle and the limitations of these principles. (12)
5. "Whatever we want a child to do or whatever might be otherwise our special training to that effect, there are certain moral conditions as necessary to our success as the technical ones." Seguin. Examine critically this statement as a criterion for judging the work of a teacher. State two of these moral conditions. (20)
6. State in detail the information regarding any given child in an ungraded class, which the teacher should have, in order that the proper educational treatment may be preserved. (14)

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